

15: U.S. Navy--27 [14]
116, 302, 178

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"The Formosan-Chinese women of Fukien or Cantonese origin dress their hair sleekly with oil, pulling it smooth and tight to a small knot at the nape of the neck, and usually with some small flower or ornament pinning it there. The Hakka women wear a more elaborate traditional coiffure, surviving from the Ming period in China, and not at all unlike the traditional Japanese Geisha coif."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [11]
116, 175, 178, 361

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"The first Chinese settled in Taiwan along the southwest coast, in and about the Tainan region. Because early settlement among the aborigines was dangerous, the settlers kept their dwellings together in defensible clusters, often selecting a prominent elevation or point overlooking a stream which could serve as a moat about a compact settlement. Further north the later settlements tended to become elongated strings of houses on either side of a road or street, often along a river bank. Often they were an extension of a settlement around a temple or the walled house of a wealthy family. Throughout the north the scattered farmhouse is most common, solitary dwellings depending upon their walls and hedges for defense. Near the borders of the aborigine territory the villages still retain a fortress arrangement of many houses within a highly defensible area."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [7]
116, 181, 178, 584, 562

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"The general atmosphere of life on Taiwan has been always somewhat less conservative than on the Chinese mainland. Indeed, there are many evidences of the pioneer spirit at work. A girl still has very little to say concerning the choice of a husband, and the parents or eldest relatives on both sides actually carry out the negotiations leading to marriage. Still there is much less of the prenuptial seclusion of women in Taiwan. Marriages are frequently arranged after a young couple has had an opportunity to see one another in public (but not alone)."

"Beginning with 1940, the 2,600th anniversary year of the Empire, Formosans have been permitted to take Japanese names. It may be significant that in the eight months just prior to the writer's visit only 367 families had signified their willingness to change their Chinese names.

In striking contrast to this nonconformity in Formosa, the Koreans, who received the same invitation, have adopted Japanese names almost 100 per cent. A distinguished American religious leader explained to the writer that the Koreans are docile and easily led, while the Formosans are more stubborn in their resistance to change."

631 As uprisings and clan wars became more
669 frequent and widespread, often nearby villages
united to make a league of defense. When one
village was raided, a drum or gong would be
beaten and the allied neighboring villagers would
come to the rescue. To affirm their consolidation,
common temples were constructed and common
patron gods were worshipped. In rotation each
allied village celebrated the yearly festival in
honor of the patron god. In each case the allied
villagers participated in the festival and feast.
The blood tie was represented by the village
ancestral temple, the territorial tie was repre-
sented by the local patronal god. Usually the
worship of local patron gods was more frequent
and enthusiastic. Sociologically speaking, it is
safe to say that, in spite of the often emphasized
Chinese ancestral worship and family spirit, the
principle of locality took precedence over the
principle of blood relationship during the Manchu
period. As far as the mass of Formosan Chinese
is concerned, this is true. However, in the case
of a smaller number of the upper ruling class,
the blood tie was still the dominant principle.

7. Breakdown of Folk Society.

612 Consciousness of the blood tie and locality
• 178 bond was very strong among the Formosans in
631 former times. When two persons found they had
the same surname, they would consider each
other as brothers or cousins. When a person
introduced himself, he usually added his native

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631 province. Associations of kinsfolk and associations of the persons of the same native town were organized in cities, and they performed a significant function as agencies for mutual protection and mutual aid. On the China Mainland, at least until recently, and among the overseas Chinese, these associations are still fairly active. So it was in Formosa up until the early years of the Japanese rule. Nowadays, many young Formosans do not even know exactly which prefecture is their native place on the Mainland. They pay little attention to ancestral shrines, and the remaining associations of kinsfolk or associations of the persons of the same native province no longer perform their former political and social functions. No doubt a radical change has taken place in the attitude of the people.

Since the Japanese administration proved able to keep peace and order with its vigorous police control, kin-groups and local associations for self-protection and mutual aid lost their significance. Gradually people became less eager to support these associations, and to the young generation, raised in peace and order, these associations became a thing of the past. With the administrative, industrial and economic improvement, self-sustaining and half-independent villages were integrated into an organic administrative system. Thus the folk society was broken down, and the people adapted themselves to modern political-economic system.

I. INTRODUCTION

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178 • Familial relationships and sentiments form the most important basis of social fabric and human behavior in Formosa. Precepts as well as structure of the family and kinship groups, with which the society has lived for centuries, exist side by side with ideas and influences of Western institutions. The extended family, which was predominant in the past, is now gradually on the wane as the result of changes brought about by industrialization and the introduction of new social institutions.

With the exception of tribal aborigines, Formosa's society in pre-Japanese times was a transplantation of those which existed in Fukien and northern Kwangtung provinces. With the coming of the Japanese, economic, educational, religious, and political ties that had held together members within villages, clans, and extended families began to crumble. In other words, most of the familial functions were gradually taken over by the state -- the Government-General of Formosa -- and, indirectly, Japan. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Formosan Chinese have been exposed to conflicting cultures and have been forced to reconcile the old and new.

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178 Today, the typical family grouping in the rural areas is that of the extended family; in urban areas, the typical grouping is that of the nuclear or joint family.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

596 Ever since the seventeenth century, kinship groups in Formosa have been changing from clans to extended families, and from extended families to joint and nuclear families. Cohesion and functional ties within a clan are no longer strong, and today only the large and extended family remains an arbiter of social behavior.

The traditional family was extended and patriarchal. The ideal was to have a large family, with many generations living under the same roof. A large family was a strength in itself in a society which depended on farming for its livelihood. A popular Formosan saying, "If there are three sons to a man, there will be one thousand in the family within six generations," well expresses the ideal of a large family. The extended family was a

2. Taiwan Government-General, Taiwan rigen shuran [Collection of Taiwan's Maxims and Proverbs], Taihoku, Taihoku kappansha, 1914, p. 138.

577 Filial piety and other traditional values stem from the concept of the family. It is a mark of shame to be called unfilial, and children do not neglect their parents or elderly relatives. A successful kinsman is obligated to assist his kinsmen financially or politically even if such an act should be against the interests of the state.

III. RECENT CHANGES

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• 178 The advent of the Japanese was followed by successive changes in the social and political institutions of the Formosan Chinese. The government took over many of the responsibilities of the clan and the extended family in matters which pertained to the maintenance of public order, the establishment of public schools, and other public institutions. Industrialization, the introduction of corporate enterprise, and urbanization in general, together with the newly-assumed duties of the government were responsible for the loosening of familial ties and the emancipation of women within the family as well as within society.

More people now live in urban areas and farmers have ceased to lead nearly self-sufficient lives; they look to the farmers' organizations for agricultural information and other forms of mutual assistance. Opportunities for jobs in banks, factories, railroads, and

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shipping have resulted in further division of extended families and at the same time have given women more opportunity for employment outside the household. There is a great deal of evidence that extended families are separating to form smaller and less-inclusive units. In 1812, the average household consisted of 8.3 persons;⁷ in 1953, the average household had 5.5 persons.⁸ In a survey conducted by the Foreign Operations Administration's Mutual Security Mission to China, the composition of urban households was characterized by a relatively large proportion of legal households consisting of a single person, and such households accounted for more than 9 per cent of the total.⁹

7. Yoshinori Ino, Taiwan bunkashi, Vol. II [The Records of the Culture of Taiwan], Tokyo Toko shoyin, 1928, p. 238.

8. Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955, Taipei, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1955, p. 27.

9. A. F. Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Taipei, Foreign Operations Administration and National Taiwan University, 1954, p. 261.

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369 Rural households retain many of the features of the traditional family. They are often made up of three or four generations with a goodly sprinkling of kinsmen, adopted children, and others. However, among the one hundred households which were the subjects of a survey conducted by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 58 were termed nuclear families and included 48 per cent of the total population surveyed. The other 42 households were three- and four-generation households, and included the remaining 52 per cent.¹⁰

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• 178 The influence of the West has greatly improved the position of women in Formosan society. Women today have equal elective franchise and the right of inheritance. They have not only become clerks and manual workers but also have entered the professions and have taken a role in politics. The Chinese Constitution stipulates that the number of women delegates to the National Assembly, as well as the number of women members of the Legislative and Control Yuan, shall be determined by law. The Electoral Law fixes the percentage at ten, and at present there are 60 women of a total

10. A. F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1953, p. 208.

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562 537 members in the Legislative Yuan.¹¹

178 The percentage of women delegates is also applied to the provincial and local councils. In Taipei alone, there are about one hundred full-fledged women doctors and a great number of qualified mid-wives, five chartered women accountants, thirteen women judges, and six women prosecutors.¹²

IV. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION

58 Monogamous marriage is the rule in
178 Formosa, although concubines and mistresses have not been eliminated. People of the same surname do not intermarry. Marriage remains a family affair as well as an affair of the parties concerned. When a son reaches adulthood it is a traditional obligation of the parents to see that he is married. Parents in most cases choose spouses for their children. But today the majority of men and women at least have some knowledge of their future spouses before marriage. It is stipulated by law that an

11. Chung-pei Hsu, The Position of Women in Free China, Taipei, China Culture Publishing Foundation, 1953, p. 2.

12. Ibid.

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• 178 engagement must be contracted by the parties concerned, and if their consent has not been obtained, the engagement is not binding.¹³ Contrary to this legal provision, only about 10 per cent of the marriages in the rural and urban households surveyed were contracted by the parties themselves, and the remainder were arranged by parents, relatives, friends, or go-betweens.¹⁴ In some instances people may seek marriage through advertisements placed in newspapers. Feasts attend the wedding, elaborate or simple, according to the family's socio-economic status. Marriages between sons and adopted daughters, or, to a lesser extent, between daughters and adopted sons, are usually performed within the family circle. The patrilocal nature of matrimony requires, in most instances, that the groom's father provides living quarters for the bride. When possible, the bride's family provides a dowry consisting of clothes, furniture, jewelry, and so forth. Some girls consider a dowry so important that they work before marriage in order to save money so that they may bring to their husbands' families such things as furniture and beautiful clothes. For reasons of economy, collective marriages are performed in city halls from time to time.

13. Ching-hsiung Wu (ed.), Chung-hua Min-kuo Liu-fa Hui-pien [Compendium of the Six Codes of the Republic of China], Volume II, Civil Code, 1947, Shanghai, pp. 505-11.

14. Raper and others, op. cit., p. 268, and Raper, op. cit., p. 209.

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668 The manifesto was circulated among the representatives to the United Nations. In May 1950 a Formosan Democratic Independence Party was organized in Tokyo; its leaders included Wilfred Wong, James H. Chen, Gordon Tan, Y. T. Tsong and Frank Lim.⁹ Joshua Liao was elected Chairman of the new party. It was reported by a Hong Kong newspaper¹⁰ that in view of their past association with the Communists, the Liao brothers were confined in Sugamo prison, Tokyo, for seven to eight months after their arrival in Japan, and were bailed out by an American by the name of John Kellen. In the latter part of 1955, apparently in connivance with Japanese authorities, they were active again. In September they organized an association of Taiwan residents in Japan and a "Taiwan Provisional Congress."¹¹ On November 21, 1955, it was announced that Joshua Liao assumed the post of the "President of the Taiwan Provisional Government" and the chairman of the Provisional Congress, while Wu Chen-nan was named "Vice-President."¹² According to Japan's Immigration Bureau, there were in 1955 about 25,000 Formosans living in Japan. How many of the Formosan residents supported Liao was not disclosed.

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178 In Formosa the independence movement is regarded just as traitorous as Communism. Since

9. F. W. Riggs, op. cit., p. 56.

10. Weekly Supplement of Hsing-tao Jih-pao (Hsing-tao Daily), No. 201, Sept. 15, 1955, p. 12.

11. United Press, Tokyo dispatch, Sept. 28, 1955.

12. Pan-Asia News Alliance, dispatch of November 21, 1955.

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• 178 public expression of popular sentiment is not encouraged; it is difficult to tell how many Formosan Chinese would prefer complete independence or United Nations trusteeship for Formosa to Nationalist government. Moreover, conditions have been changing rapidly in the island. The opinions of foreign observers who visited Formosa during the early years of Nationalist rule are no longer sustained by recent visits. The truth of the matter is that the tide has turned since 1949. An almost uninterrupted series of reforms, economic, political and military, has taken place recently. Land reform has done away with the iniquitous system of exorbitant rental. Tenants who constituted two-thirds of the island's population and who in 1950 still suffered from undernourishment, disease and poverty,¹³ now own their own land, are well-fed, and possess their own homes. The damaged industries have been rehabilitated and many new ones have been established. Industrial production has exceeded the peak level under the Japanese. Local elections were held in 1950 and 1953. Among the officials in the Provincial, prefectural and municipal governments 67 per cent are Formosans,¹⁴ and their participation is still increasing. Although we should not take it for granted that, on account of the absence of expressed sentiment, the Formosans are no longer in favor of the autonomy movement, it is fairly safe to assume that in view of the improved conditions as well as the imminent Communist menace, the Formosan people as a whole are not

13. W.I. Ladejinsky, "Land Reform in Formosa," Foreign Agriculture, Vol. 14, No. 6, June 1950, pp. 130-135.

14. A. F. Raper, etc., Urban and Industrial Taiwan--Crowded and Resourceful, Taipei, '54 p. 283

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● too anxious for complete independence; at any rate, not before they can successfully defend the island against aggression.

C. Toward the Government:

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642 Except an insignificant number of aborigines the Formosans are Chinese or of Chinese descent. Even under Japanese rule, they never forgot their own national origin. Poetry and songs composed during that period were replete with reminiscences of their mother country. That is why in 1945, the Formosan Chinese were overwhelmed with joy at the prospect of the island's being returned to Chinese rule after half a century of Japanese colonial dominance. But their enthusiasm was dampened by the abuses of Chen Yi's administration. The Nationalist government after 1949 made a determined effort to win back popular support. Economic reconstruction has been vigorously pushed forward to enable the island to achieve self-sufficiency and stability. Large government corporations have been converted to private firms and turned over to the local people. The political basis of the provincial government has been altered to permit increasing participation by Formosans.

In spite of the special concessions granted by the Nationalist Government in the past five years some Formosans, according to the sentiment expressed in the Provincial Assembly, complain that they have not been making as much headway politically as they would like. Others are not happy because the popularly elected mayors and magistrates do not have full authority in the settlement

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648 Under the Japanese from 1895 to 1945,
the economy of Formosa was geared entirely
to that of the colonial power. The island
was developed as a major source of foodstuffs
to feed the rapidly growing population of
Japan. All possible arable land was brought
under cultivation. The production of rice
[439] more than doubled between 1905 and 1935; the
sugar crop tripled between 1910 and 1940.⁴
Great strides were made in modernizing
communications and transportation throughout
the island, including the construction of a
network of railways and roads. After 1937,
648 some effort was directed toward the industriali-
178 zation of the island. Factories were built,
439 electric power developed, highways and
railways improved, and harbors enlarged.
A number of large plants were established to
use the raw materials of Southeast Asia in
the production of semi-finished goods to
supply Japanese industry. The chief emphasis
was on metals and chemicals. No attempt was
made to achieve industrial self-sufficiency
on the island. Fertilizer and textiles, two of
the most important industrial products in an
agrarian economy were totally neglected.

4. Norton S. Ginsburg, Economic Resources
and Development of Formosa, New York,
Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953, p. 24.

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[178]
 Economic dependency on Japan was accentuated by the employment of only Japanese in both technical and managerial positions. From the beginning of the Japanese control, trade was confined almost exclusively to territories within the Japanese empire and managed for the most part by Japanese personnel. Japan took between 90 and 95 per cent of Formosa's exports and supplied 85 to 90 per cent of the island's imports. Some sugar and coal were shipped to China, and small quantities of tea and camphor were sent to the United States.

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 Banking and currency were linked to the Japanese system, and all capital investment was controlled by the Japanese.⁵ "Every year, for at least fifteen years previous to the war, Japan is believed to have gained directly 150 million yen from her investments in Taiwan,^{and} for the fifteen years before that lesser but still significant sums".⁶

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 Some of the Japanese industrial projects were never completed. Others wer destroyed

5. By 1939, 90% of all the capital invested in the island was held either by the Japanese government or Japanese nationals; the remaining 10% held by Formosans was mostly invested in small shops. Taiwan, A Geographical Appreciation, Ottawa, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Government of Canaca, 1952, p. 16.

6. Ginsburg, op. cit., p. 25.

727 to 86,000 metric tons in 1945-46. The
433 Formosan farmer was faced with the "worst
prospect in living memory," as one
observer remarked.⁸

434 In spite of the seriousness of economic
178 conditions on Formosa, the Chinese govern-
ment was able to make only limited progress
in reconstruction following the restoration of
the island to Chinese control. For one thing,
the Nationalist Government was involved in a
costly war with the Communists and faced with
a huge rehabilitation program on the Mainland.
Furthermore, without a surplus of exportable
goods, China could not obtain the foreign
exchange necessary to re-equip the damaged
plants and restore agricultural production on
Formosa. The island's economy continued to
deteriorate until 1949, when Mainland China
was overrun by the Communists and the
National Government was withdrawn to Formosa.

458 The sudden influx of over one million
185 mainlanders and half a million soldiers further
strained the resources of the island. Inflation
was running wild and food was short. However,
the removal of the national government to
Formosa was not without benefit to the island.

8. H. Maclear Bates, Report from Formosa,
New York, Dutton, 1952, p. 117.

648 the immediate needs of both the people and Formosan industry. MSMC also supplies urgently required replacement parts and materials for the restoration and development of basic industries and public utilities.

The proceeds from sales of American aid commodities are deposited in a special account with the Bank of Taiwan. By agreement, the government of China deposits in Chinese currency an amount equivalent to the cost of the American commodities. These deposits, called the counterpart fund, are used to carry out FOA-approved projects, to meet the expenses of aid agencies, to help the Chinese government reduce its budgetary deficits, and to promote production by extending loans to public and private industries. To administer this fund the Chinese government has established within the cabinet an agency called the Council for United States Aid (CUSA), of which the Chinese premier is the chairman ex-officio.

648 The mission to China also provides
178 technical assistance to public and private enterprises on Formosa. Under a MSA- and MSMC-financed contract between J.G.

10. (continued) American Economic Co-operation, Taipei, Feb. 1955, p. 1.

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648 both in yield per acre and in total amount,
 433 so there is at present not only a sufficient
 supply to feed the increased population,
 but also a substantial amount for export.

648 United States aid appropriations for China
 451 from 1951 to 1954 was as follows:

1951	_____	US\$ 98,034,000
1952	_____	81,479,000
1953	_____	105,503,000
1954	_____	111,821,000
		<u>US\$ 396,837,000</u>

In fiscal year 1955, the allotment totaled
 US\$102,000,000, distributed among the
 following programs:¹³

Military program	_____	US\$ 37,000,000
Commodity aid	_____	34,000,000
Industrial construction	_____	28,000,000
Technical assistance	_____	3,000,000
		<u>US\$ 102,000,000</u>

648 From the disorganized and demoralized
 198 condition of Formosa in 1949, the joint Chinese
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13. As reported by Martin Wong, Secretary-
 general of the Council for U.S. Aid on Aug.
 12, 1955.

178 and American efforts have effected tremendous
648 change. However, in spite of steady gains,
433 the economy of Formosa has not achieved
complete stability. Industrial and agricultural
production is higher than before the war,
but because of the tremendous increase in
population, per capita production is still
below the pre-war level. The Nationalist
Government has been able to meet yearly
budgetary deficits only by relying on American
aid and resorting to the printing press. Forty
per cent of the annual imports into Formosa
are financed by United States aid. Inflation
is steadily mounting. The economic situation
would be very grave without United States
assistance.

185 On the avowed basis that "a nation's
433 progress and prosperity cannot be a gift from
others, but must be sought through production
and reconstruction,"¹⁴ the Nationalist
Government formulated a four-year plan for
economic reconstruction in 1953. The plan
aims at developing the island's economy
production to a self-sufficient level. By the
time the plan is fully implemented,
the government intends that Formosa, without

14. Report of Premier Chen Cheng (now
Vice-President) before the National Assembly,
March 4, 1954.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3b,
Economic Background

INDUSTRY

A GENERAL SURVEY

178 Formosa's industry during the Japanese occupation was geared to the needs of Japan. Prior to 1936 the chief feature was agricultural expansion accompanied by the improvement of transportation facilities. Formosa was to grow rice and sugar, to make up the 20 per cent deficiency in Japan. The aborigines were pushed further inland by force, and a great deal of new land was brought under cultivation. Japanese services and goods, ranging from fertilizers to patent medicines and textiles, were forced on Formosa. No secondary industries of consequence were permitted on the island. From 1936 to the end of World War II, the major emphasis was on industrialization, and Formosa was transformed into a base of operations for Japan's southward expansion. Many new chemical and metallurgical plants were established either by the government or by Japanese corporations with the assistance of the government. Power-generation¹ was expanded from 501 million

1. Economic Data Book, Vol. II, mimeographed copy by FOA Mutual Security Mission to China, Taipei, Jan. 1954, p. 146.

178 kilowatt-hours in 1936 to 1,195 million kilowatt-hours in 1943. Aluminum factories were built at Kaohsiung and Hualien, the combined production of which was 12,000 metric tons in 1942, one-eighth of the total production of the Japanese empire.² An oil refinery was constructed in Kaohsiung in 1942 for the use of the Japanese Navy. The largest single investor was the Government-General. "By 1939, 90 per cent of all the capital invested was held by the government and government-backed Japanese; the remaining 10 per cent, held by Formosans, was mostly invested in small shops."³ Sugar accounted for 54.5 per cent of all exports⁴ from Formosa in 1937. Taiwan Seito was the largest of the four sugar companies, and the Japanese imperial family was its principal shareholder.

178 Most of the machinery of the new industrial
129 plants were either made in Japan or had been used in Japan for a number of years. During the war, industrial production was at the breaking point. Machinery and equipment which had become obsolete were not replaced and

2. Ibid., p. 123.

3. Taiwan: A Geographical Appreciation, published by the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Canadian Government, Ottawa, Canada, 1952, p. 16.

4. E. B. Schumpeter, The Industrialization of Japan and Manchukuo 1930-40, New York, Macmillan Co., 1940, p. 295.

177 were rapidly worn out. After 1943, Allied
● 178 aerial attacks dealt them a further crippling
blow.

At the time of Japan's surrender it was found that thirty-four of the forty-two sugar mills in Formosa had been reduced to ruins by American bombing. The oil refinery at Kaohsiung suffered 800 bomb hits. The generating capacity of the Western Power System at Sun-Moon Lake was reduced from 308,000 kilowatts to 32,000 kilowatts. The mills of the Taiwan Pulp and Paper Corporation were damaged -- 50 per cent of the buildings and 30 per cent of the machinery -- by Allied aerial bombings.⁵

471 On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies, and Formosa was restored to China. The Chinese government took over all the industrial enterprises previously owned by Japanese nationals. Some of these, including printing houses, match and food

5. Industrial Enterprises of National Resources Commission in Taiwan -- General Information, National Resources Commission, Taipei, 1951.

471 1. During the Japanese occupation, all modern industries on Formosa were owned by the Japanese, and, as enemy property, they passed under the control of the Chinese government.

2. Many public enterprises on the Mainland were evacuated to Formosa with the withdrawal of the Nationalist Government to the island.

3. Allied bombings had caused the widespread destruction of industrial plants. Extensive repairs were necessary. Only the government with immense resources was able to undertake such extensive rehabilitation.

4. Formosans had been given only secondary positions in industries by the Japanese. They had neither the experience required to manage large-scale enterprises nor the capital needed to finance operation.

• 178 With the economic and technical assistance provided by the United States, systematic repairing and reconstruction of the damaged industries in Formosa were carried out by the concerted efforts of the Nationalist Government. By 1950 most of the plants have been put back into production. Since 1950 the industrial advance has been

- 178 rapid. From the state of disintegration of 1945 and 1946, some industries are now operating at levels approximating the peak production reached under the Japanese, and a few such as cement, petroleum refining, and chemical fertilizers, are exceeding it. "It would not be praising their achievement too highly to compare the result of their reconstruction work with the best in devastated Europe."⁸

8. H. Maclear Bate, Report from Formosa, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1952, p. 113.

472 The increase from 1950 to 1953 was, for
483 the most part, in private industries, manufactur-
● 178 ing consumer articles, including textiles,
soap, rubber goods, paints, matches, drugs,
aluminum wares, bicycles, electric fans,
and sewing machines. Among these, textiles,
soap, and rubber goods have increased
production most rapidly. Producing only 12
per cent of the textiles consumed locally in
1935, Formosa is now in a position now only
to meet the expanding requirement of a growing
population, but also to provide a substantial
amount of cotton cloth for export. Except for
automobile tires, nearly all the rubber goods
needed on the island are manufactured locally.
In 1939, the year of record soap production
under the Japanese, 214,830 cases (5,115 metric
tons) of laundry soap were produced. Today
there are one government and ninety-three
private producers, and the total production
capacity of laundry soap is 125,000 cases
(2,500 metric tons) per month.⁹

The rapid growth of private industries
is attributed to the following factors:

1. Formosa has many basic raw materials,
coal, salt, limestone, sulphur, ceramic clay,

9. Economic Data Book, Part II, Vol. III,
prepared by FOA Mission to China, Taipei,
March 1955, p. 99.

[43] timber, and is also rich in oil and a favorable
472 climate.

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2. It has abundant power and good means of communication.

3. A great deal of dismantled equipment has been imported from the Mainland.

4. As a result of the massexodus from the Mainland, Formosa has many trained personnel

5. Labor supply with experience of mechanical operations is plentiful.

472 It should be noted, however, that 90 per
471 cent of the private factories are of very small size, operated by a single owner. More than half have less than 5 hired workers, one-sixth from 6 to 10, and a fifth from 11 to 30 workers. Ninety-five per cent have capital of less than NT \$50,000 (US \$3,000). Twenty-six per cent depend entirely on manual labor, 67 per cent use a motor under 15 horsepower, and only 7 per cent use motors of 15 horsepower or more.¹⁰ On the other hand, the government

10. Arthur F. Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Crowded and Resourceful, published by FOA/MSM to China and National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1954, pp. 122-23.

471 the transfer transactions are completed, the government will still control 60 per cent of the total value of industrial output.

656 Another adverse factor affecting the development of private enterprise is the multiplicity of government controls. The prices of coal, cement, fertilizer, and many other goods are regulated by the government. "The government also operates a supply bureau, through which small private manufacturers secure much of their imported raw materials. Banks, foreign exchange, and import and export licenses are controlled by the government; the sale of exports is permitted by the government only at prices above fixed floor prices."¹⁵ In the field of taxation, inequities are widely reported. The discrimination in favor of public enterprises and the vexatious government controls seriously hamper the growth of private industry. Formosa is 472 emerging from a colonial economy into a self-sufficient economic unit. The need for the production of goods and services is tremendous. The creation of new employment opportunities is also imperative on account of the enormous increase in population in recent years. In future industrial expansion, private enterprise

15. Raper, op. cit., p. 10.

472 must contribute a major share. The Chinese
178 government has promulgated regulations to
attract capital investment by overseas
Chinese and foreign nationals, but the result
will not be encouraging until a healthy
environment in favor of private investment is
first created. To foster the growth of private
industries the following conditions appear to be
essential: (a) a relatively stable price level
and reasonably cheap credit; (b) tax obligations
must be clearly defined, and no price controls
imposed abruptly and arbitrarily; (c) economic
control should be reduced to a minimum;
(d) and the virtual government monopoly in
foreign trade should be modified to allow private
initiative to find an outlet for surplus products.
When a more favorable climate is created to
insure the success of private capital, private
industry will overtake public enterprises and
assume an important role in the industrial
revolution that is under way in Formosa.

433 resources would have to be supplemented by the integration of Taiwanese and
241 Koreans into the industrial nexus of Empire.

439 THE CONTEMPORARY PROSPECTS

178 Today the plans of the Japanese for the further development of Taiwan
727 are somewhat irrelevant. The Chinese administration has penetrated every aspect of political, social and economic life. Initially the transfer of sovereignty resulted in sharp retrogressions. The great war industries were destroyed. The Japanese army departed, but Chinese soldiers from the Mainland now use the island for training to repel an invasion expected from the Mainland. The land is cultivated but the agricultural supervisors have been repatriated to Japan. In October, 1948, when we were in Taiwan, there were markets for surpluses that would yield funds to purchase the fertilizers essential to the maintenance of production. Disease and premature mortality were reported to be increasing. All this was descriptive, for statistics were a casualty of the liberation. Bureaucrats and university professors had been moved back to Japan and Japanese policy had produced totally inadequate numbers of Taiwanese to take their places.

177 The political travesty of the Chinese liberation of the Chinese popu-
198 lation of Taiwan needs no recapitulation. It placed almost insuperable obstacles before even the most reasonable programs and the most capable administrators. Furthermore the Taiwanese were now a peculiar Chinese-Japanese cross-product and the cultural heritage of the half century of occupation complicates all aspects of Chinese-Taiwanese adaptations. The Taiwanese spoke Hakka or Fukienese, neither comprehensible to the other; the Mainland Chinese spoke Mandarin, which was incomprehensible to the Taiwanese who spoke either Hakka or Fukienese. So Japanese became the lingua franca between Chinese groups.

Had Taiwan been reintegrated into a functioning Republican China it seems probable that inundation from the Mainland would have reduced the Taiwanese to Chinese levels of living and absorbed their particular population problem into one of the greatest of all population problems, the demographic prospects of a modernizing and industrializing China. Today the future of the Taiwanese people is unpredictable. They are again pawns in a struggle for control of the East.

Taiwan⁽¹⁾.

Before the Japanese occupation there was frequent migration between the China mainland and Taiwan. After the Japanese occupation, the fundamental policy of the colonial government was to cut off the relation between China mainland and Taiwan. Thus the entrance of mainlanders to Taiwan and the departure of Taiwanese to the mainland was strictly controlled. After the restoration of Taiwan to China in 1945, especially since 1949, many people came to Taiwan from the mainland, and the population factors have changed greatly. During the half century of Japanese occupation the Chinese population in Taiwan was a "closed" population (1: p. 12), its change was almost wholly caused by natural increase, and the influence of migration was insignificant. It seemed that Taiwan was kept as a laboratory for experimentation on Chinese population change, and this is a very valuable condition from a demographic point of view.

Besides dependable data of population statistics, there are statistical data of administration, industry, communication and transportation, hygiene, and education, etc., which will enable us to trace the interrelation of population change and social change. Usually, statistical records begin after a society has attained some degree of development, and the data of the initial stages of modernization are not easy to find. Besides, neglect of birth and death registration is unavoidable in early statistics. Thus even when there are statistical records, dependable data are hard to get. Taiwan is an exception in these points. Since statistical records were taken by the colonial government under strict police control, dependable statistics from the initial stages of modernization are available, which will enable us to make a study of a complete processes of population change and social change. "It is", as pointed out by Notestein, "if not the only case, then certainly one of the very few cases in the world" (1: p. v.).

Social change in western Europe took place from within, developed by inner necessity, and the change was from the base to the top. Social change in Taiwan was different from this, as pointed out by G. W. Barclay. In Taiwan the Change was started and pushed by the colonial ruler. It was passive in character, and was from the top to the bottom. There are many areas in the world which were occupied as colonies in former times, and their social change shows the same trend as that of Taiwan. The study of social change in Taiwan will help us to understand the colonial type of social change.

By the time of the Japanese occupation (1895), the islands of Taiwan and Hainan had about same size of population, around two and a half million. Fifty years thence, the population of Hainan remained almost the same, but the Taiwanese population had

Note 1: Hitherto the population of Taiwan was treated as a whole in most articles and books. In a paper by the present writer: "Sociological Study of Mortality in Taiwan", published in 1947-48 (main references, No. 6), a different standpoint was adopted, Chinese population in Taiwan was the subject of the analysis. Two books by G. W. Barclay published in 1954 also adopted the same standpoint.

Population Growth and Social Change

as indicated in Table 3. The birth rate also shows the same periodical tendency. It is very significant that there is an intimate interrelation between population change and social change in each period, and we even may infer that population change is the index of social change. This will be analyzed in subsequent sections. The average rates of birth, death, and natural increase (Table 3) and main features and changes of each period will be clear from the following table.

Table 3: Five Periods of Taiwanese Population Change.

Period	I	II	III	IV	V
Years	1906-09	1910-20	1921-25	1926-40	1941-43
Number of years	4	11	5	15	3
Average Birth Rate (per 1,000)	40.25	41.40	42.06	45.24	41.10
Average Death Rate (per 1,000)	33.35	29.37	24.61	21.20	18.23
Average Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	6.90	12.03	17.47	24.04	22.83

First Period (before 1909): Wide spread epidemics and malaria, frequent revolts of the people against the Japanese characterize this unstable period. The birth rate was high (more than 40 per 1,000), but the death rate also high, more than 30 per 1,000 on an average, and the fluctuation was remarkable and frequent. The rate of natural increase was about 7 per 1,000.

Second Period (1910-1920): Epidemics were wiped out by the end of this period, the prevention of malaria had started. The uprisings of the Taiwanese were suppressed around 1915, the revolts of the aborigines were largely mitigated by 1920, and comparative social stability was more or less attained. Political, cultural and social movement of the modern type began for the first time after World War I, and took the place of armed uprising. The Japanese colonial policy had changed somewhat. Birth rate increased slightly, death rate declined to an average of around 30 per 1,000, and the rate of natural increase rose to 12 per 1,000.

Third Period (1921-25): Vigorous cultural and social movement marked this era. This was a period preparatory to the following period of expansion. Transportation was improved, mobility of people increased. Agricultural products and processed agricultural products increased, the productivity was raised, and the consumption of daily necessities increased slightly. The attitude of the people began to change, they began to adopt new ways of life more readily. Use of mechanical facilities gradually increased, and the number of doctors of western medicine exceeded the number of physicians who practiced Chinese medicine. The spread of primary education was promoted. The birth rate increased again, the death rate was 4.8 per 1,000 lower than the foregoing period, and the rate of natural increase rose 5.5 per 1,000.

Fourth Period (1926-40): During this period there was a tremendous increase in the output of agricultural products, attaining the peak production during the Japanese rule. The hydroelectric plant of Sun Moon Lake was completed in 1934, and industry

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178 was much promoted by it. Prevention of malaria was successful to a large extent, the activities of preventive hygiene being started by the 1930's. There was reduction in the number of cases of diarrhea, enteritis, and tuberculosis. Infant mortality began to decline. The birth rate rose to a peak, the death rate declined again, and the fluctuations became fewer and of lesser extent. The rate of natural increase attained a peak of 24 per 1,000. Age composition changed, the proportion of infants and children increased markedly.

Fifth Period (1941-1943): The value of industrial products exceeded the value of agricultural products, and the quick tempo of urbanization began. The birth rate began to decline, and death rate continued to drop, to around 18 per 1,000; the rate of natural increase declined slightly. Infant mortality declined further. In comparison with 1906, the average expectation of life of Taiwanese at birth in 1940 was 13 years longer for males and 16.7 years longer for females.

Objectively considered, there were improvements in Taiwan during the half century of Japanese rule; and it is evident at the same time that under the scheme of colonial administration, the improvements were limited in character. The specific character of this social change can be traced in the population data. In order to let her colony carry out its function, in order to make it a good supplier of rice and sugar which Japan urgently needed, various kinds of basic establishments and developments had to be accomplished, such as the wiping out of epidemics, prevention of endemics, basic sanitation, development of transportation, primary education etc. In order to make her colony a good market for manufactured products, the purchasing power and the level of living of the people had to be raised somewhat. But if the "improvement" was pushed too far, it would enable the people to resist and revolt, so it must be kept within certain limits. The Japanese were quite clear on these points, and developed the island within the colonial scheme. The results were successful, even to the extent of Taiwan being called the "ideal colony". Here is the fundamental character of social change in Taiwan. Some data will help us to understand the situation concretely.

161
165 Though the death rate of Taiwanese had declined, its tempo was slow, and still remained very high in comparison with the death rate of Japanese in Taiwan. In the early years of occupation, the death rate of Japanese in Taiwan was tremendously high, but declined quickly and steadily, and with the passage of time the rate was not only lower than in Japan proper, but even attained the level of the most advanced western countries. To take the death rate of 1925 for instance, it was 24.84 per 1,000 for Taiwanese, 20.27 per 1,000 in Japan proper, but was as low as 11.34 per 1,000 for the Japanese in Taiwan. Though it is somewhat higher than Australia (9.2 per 1,000) and Netherlands (9.8 per 1,000), it is still lower than Sweden (11.7 per 1,000), England and Wales (12.2 per 1,000). The age composition of the Japanese in Taiwan was specific, [162] there were more youths and adults in its population, and no doubt this was one of the causes of its low death rate. But even after the difference of age composition was

corrected, the standardized death rate of the Japanese in Taiwan was 13.34 per 1,000, still far lower than the rate of 20.27 per 1,000 for their brothers in Japan proper⁽¹⁾. The rate of infant mortality of the Japanese in Taiwan was also comparable to that of most advanced western countries. From this we can see that Japanese in Taiwan were under tremendously favorable circumstances. Their excessive benefits were enjoyed only at the expense of the land in which they lived. 161 165

Social change in Taiwan after the restoration in 1945 will help us to understand the character of colonial type of change. Under Japanese rule, manufacturing industry had attained a fair development, but it produced mostly processed agricultural goods or semi-manufactured goods, and finished consumer's goods were mostly imported from Japan. Fertilizer and textiles were two main import items. If the production of 1941 is taken as base, after the restoration, the production of textiles increased ten times and fertilizer increased five times by 1953 (7: p. 26). This is a sign that the economy of Taiwan has outstripped its colonial and dependent character and has become an autonomous system. In respect to education, the enrollment of Taiwanese school age children in primary school had attained 80% by the later years of Japanese occupation, but the secondary and higher education were very poor. After the restoration, if we take the figure of 1937 as a base and compare it with 1953, the growth of the number of students was as follows. Primary school: more than doubled; vocational and normal school: more than three times; middle school: six and an half times; college and junior college: more than eight times; university: more than twenty one times (7: p. 302). In order to rectify the defects of the colonial era, higher education was especially promoted. 178 162 433 439

The Japanese are no exception to the rule that each nation struggles for its own benefit. Now that the colonial era is at an end, it is our task to analyse the elements of social change in that era. Some useful references for planning of further social development may be drawn from our analysis.

III. SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN

Some aspects of social change which relate directly to population change, will be discussed in the following section. 172/ 669

7. Political Background

It is self-evident that population growth is deeply influenced by peace and war. The Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895 was met with a series of severe revolts. Between 1895 and 1901, the city of Taipei, the capital, was raided twice, the city of Taichung was also raided twice. Other military posts, local governmental offices and units of military police were raided more than fifty times. A bigger uprising was suppressed in 1902, and after that several years passed in comparative tranquility. An insurrection broke out in 1907, and there were seven revolts between 1907 and 1915. During this period there were frequent uprisings against economic exploitation, as when

Note 5: Tachi, M.: *Lecture on Population Problems*, Tokyo, 1943, p. 201.

[172] people were forced to sell their land cheaply to sugar corporations. The influence of the revolution lead by Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the mainland was also felt. After 1916, the uprisings were suppressed by a forceful police system. Since 1921 the revolts of the aborigines have been largely mitigated.⁽⁹⁾ After the 1920's peace was generally preserved in Taiwan, and the resistance of the people changed gradually from revolt by force to organized political and social movements.

Peoples' attitudes are much influenced by peace and war. Disturbances do not give the people the needed security of life and property. They must keep a cautious and watchful attitude at all times. It is impossible to invest the surplus of their production for the extension of their business. They have to exchange the surplus of production for gold and silver, and bury it under the ground for safety. Direct and immediate self-sustenance was their main daily concern, and the idea of future development was unfamiliar to them. This society is approximately the same as the "militaristic type of society" defined by Herbert Spencer, and no development can be expected from it. In peace time people need not spend their time and energy defending themselves against thieves and bandits. They can concentrate their strength on their work. They can extend their business and gradually plan for the future. Again, we may use Spencer's definition and classify this state as an "industrial type of society". Once established, its development will be accelerated. In Taiwan, after peace and order were established by the colonial government police system, production was extended, and the population gradually increased.

The various kinds of social change in Taiwan were basically influenced by the colonial policy of Japan. Before World War I the policy was typically colonial. After the war, the spirit of democracy permeated the whole world. In Japan, serious social problems broke out. Democratic and Socialistic movements likewise became widespread. Social movement of the modern type among students and young people broke out in China at about the same time. Under the influence of both China and Japan, political, social, and cultural movements started in Taiwan for the first time around 1920. At first the colonial government tried to suppress them by force, but the current was too strong and the government had to change its policy somewhat. From around 1930, the policy of assimilation was adopted, and there were some improvements in administration. Though the improvement was limited in character, it had a fairly significant effect on Taiwan, and its results were reflected in population data. From 1926 on the system of modern Taiwan was generally molded, and after that date population growth was speeded up.

Japan started her invasion of Manchuria in 1931, intruded in northern China in 1937, and then struck Pearl Harbor in 1941. As the war for expansion was extended, Taiwan was considered a strategic base, and the colonial policy had to change again.

Note 6: Yanaiha, T.: Taiwan under Imperialism. 1929, Tokio, pp. 241-242. Shiomi, T.: "Police System and Economy of Taiwan under Japanese Rule". Quarterly of the Bank of Taiwan. Vol. 5, No. 4, 1953, Taipei, pp. 250-261.

Hitherto the development of chemical production, heavy industry, and consumer goods industries on Taiwan had declined, but now they were earnestly promoted. This gave another impetus to social change. 178 648

8. Elimination of Epidemics

After the occupation of Taiwan, two things troubled the Japanese most: the revolts of the Taiwanese and epidemics. One branch of the Japanese expeditionary army landed on the Pescadores on March 21, 1895. By mid-May, fully 1945 people out of 6,190 were afflicted by cholera, and 1,247 died. Another branch of the expeditionary army landed on Taiwan at about the same time and was also stricken with cholera, malaria, dysentery, typhus, pneumonia, and beri-beri. Only one fifth of the total army was free from illness by the end of September (5: Vol. 2, No. 12). During the early years of the Japanese occupation epidemics spread widely, and thus, elimination of epidemics was the first administrative task for the new rulers of Taiwan. 648 164

Plague, cholera, and small-pox were three serious epidemics in Taiwan. Plague broke out in Hóngkong in 1894, invaded in Taiwan two years later, and had spread to many places during the next twenty-two years. During this time more than thirty thousand people were inflicted, and twenty-four thousand died. It was wiped out in 1917 (5: Vol. 2, No. 12). The activities of extermination and prevention by police power were conspicuous. They included the isolation of patients, destruction and burning of contaminated houses, extermination of rats, quarantine at sea ports etc. Though the means adopted were harsh and cruel, they were effective. Cholera was not as serious as plague in Taiwan. A greater prevalence of cholera occurred in 1902, 1912, 1913, and 1920. After 1921 the preventative arrangements were more or less completed and by the cooperation of the people and the public health system, the occurrence of cholera could be closely controlled. 164 164

During the early years of Japanese occupation small-pox was a serious problem. With the enforcement of vaccination, it began to decline after 1903. Since then, except for a greater prevalence in 1918-1920, small-pox has not been a menace in Taiwan (5: Vol. 2, No. 12).

Plague was wiped out in 1917. Cholera and small-pox were under control by 1920. Since then there has been no serious problem of epidemics in Taiwan. Incidentally, the cattle pest which ravaged Taiwan from 1896 and killed more than forty thousand head of cattle, was also exterminated in 1920.⁽⁷⁾

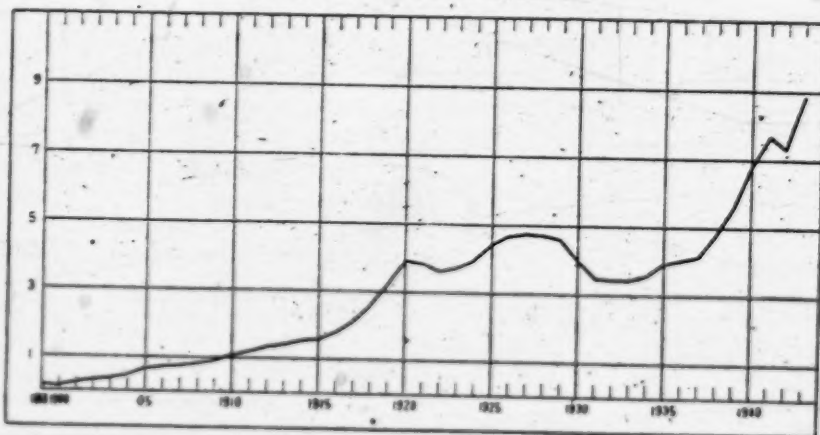
Whether or not a society is menaced by epidemic is always a significant social fact. We may say that freedom from epidemics is the first step toward modernization. In Taiwan, the course of this change can be traced in the data of population change. Before 1920 the death rate was high, and it also fluctuated frequently, and the extent of fluctuation was great. This is a sign of the uncertainty of life. In fact, living in a society where epidemics constantly spread, one could not estimate in the morning what would be happen before nightfall. Fatalism, such as shown in the saying "man proposes, 161 164

Note 7: Animal Resources of Taiwan, published by the Bank of Taiwan, 1962, p. 172, p. 296.

15. *Change in the Way of Life*

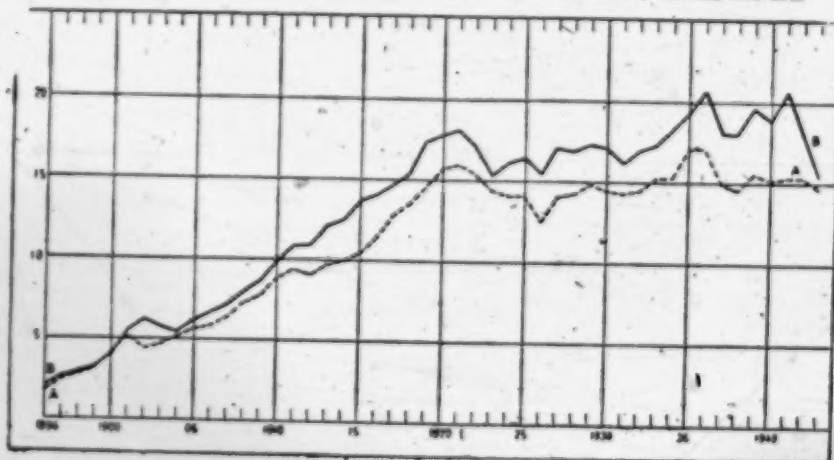
In response to the various changes which took place during the Japanese era, the way of life of the Taiwanese had gradually changed. There is much data on this point, but we can only describe some of it in this limited space. The increase in the mobility of the people should be pointed out first. How many times each person has

Fig. 7: Number of Times Traveled on Government Owned Railroads
Per Capita Per Annum, Taiwan, 1899-1943



Source, Computed from 14: Table 433

Fig. 8: Number of Letters Received and Sent Per Capita Per Annum, Taiwan, 1896-1943



A: Letters sent B: Letters received

Source, Computed from 14: Table 433

178 traveled by train annually, and how many letters he has received and sent annually
484 may be taken as an index of the mobility. The increase in the frequency of travel and the increase in the number letters received and sent are signs of the wider sphere of activity and higher mobility. The increase since 1920 was particularly remarkable (Fig. 7, Fig. 8).

Figure 7 was the number of times of travel per capita per annum on government owned railroads, and does not include travel on privately owned railroads and bus lines. When the latter is included, the figure rises as indicated in Table 7. During the later years of Japanese rule the mobility had increased markedly. In 1938, the number of times traveled per capita per annum was 17.19, but it had risen to 23.64 by 1942.

Table 7: Number of Passengers on Train and Bus Lines in Taiwan in Selected Years

	1938	1942
1. Government-owned Railroads	27,179,194	46,342,569
2. Privately-owned Railroads	2,002,456	1,962,017
3. Government-owned Bus Lines	8,207,474	9,413,577
4. Privately-owned Bus Lines	53,644,809	61,536,396
Total	91,033,933	139,254,561
5. Total Population	5,267,006	5,891,848
Average times travelled Per Capita Per Annum	17.19	23.64

Source: 14. 1: Table 433; 2: Table 446; 3: Table 458; 4: Table 459; 5: Table 64.

262 The consumption of food had also increased. Here we will take sugar and pork as an example (Table 8).

Table 8: Per Capita Per Annum Consumption of Sugar, Taiwan⁽¹¹⁾

Year	Per Capita Per Annum Consumption
1903-1909	2.79 kilograms
1910-1920	5.26 kilograms
1921-1925	6.13 kilograms
1926-1938	8.87 kilograms
1939-1943	14.41 kilograms

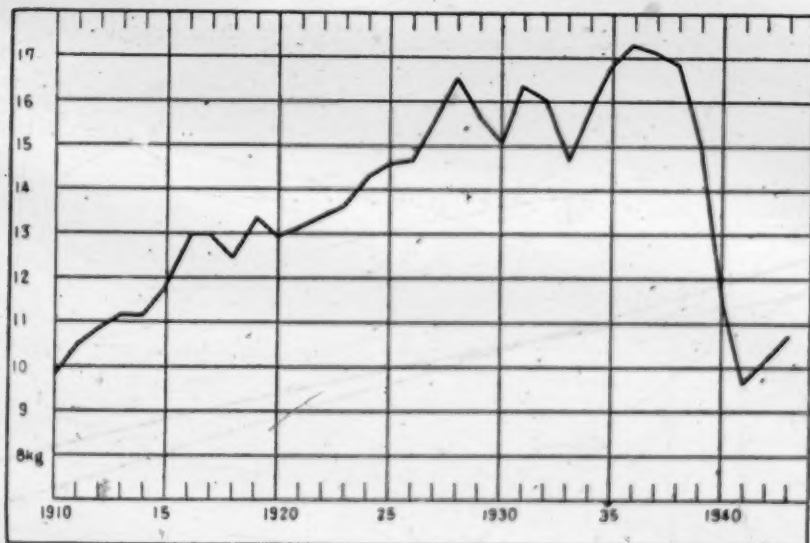
In later years of World War II the transportation between Taiwan and Japan was hampered by the allied forces, and no doubt, the jump in the amount of consumption in the last period (1939-1943) of the table 8 includes some sugar which was actually stocked in warehouses in Taiwan. For comparison, the per capita per annum consumption of sugar in other parts of the world in 1939 was as follows. Netherlands was the highest consumer: 81 kilograms. Denmark and Australia came to next, more than 50 kilograms. Britain, U.S.A., and Canada were nearly 50 kilograms, Italy and Portugal were about 9.5 kilograms. India was 6.7 kilograms, Java: 4.6 kilogram, China mainland: 1.8 kilograms. The average of 1939-43 in Taiwan was 14.4 kilograms⁽¹²⁾.

Note 11: Taiwan Sugar Yearbook, 1947, Taipei, Table 58.

Note 12: op. cit., Table 106. cf. 27: Table 144, Table 145.

The increase in the consumption of pork is given in Figure 9. Beef and mutton are not included in this figure. Increase in the amount of meat consumption is a sign of the improvement of the standard of living. The per capita per annum consumption of meat in France was 20 kilograms in 1840, it increased to 35 kilograms by 1892, and to 40 kilograms by 1939⁽¹³⁾. The consumption of pork in Taiwan was 7.3 kilograms in 1910, it reached a peak of 17.3 kilograms in 1936, and after that decreased as the importation of beans and bean cakes as animal feed became increasingly difficult with the development of the war. For comparison, the per capita per annum consumption of meat in other parts of the world in 1939 was as follows. New Zealand was the highest: 110 kilograms; Australia: 95 kilograms; U. S. A., Canada, and Britain: more than 60 kilograms; Switzerland and France: more than 40 kilograms; Italy: 20 kilograms⁽¹⁴⁾. The consumption of pork alone in Taiwan was 15 kilograms in 1939.

Fig. 9: Per Capita Per Annum Consumption of Pork, Taiwan, 1910-1943



Unit: Kilogram

Source: Animal Resources of Taiwan, pp. 63-64

16. Change in the Attitude of the People

People living under many kinds of changes gradually change their attitudes, or the ways of feeling, thinking and behaving. During the early years of Japanese rule, the large part of the Taiwanese were conservative farmers, who persisted in their traditional way of life. They had to face the merciless coercion of Japanese police on

Note 13: Peyret, H.: *La Lutte pour les Dérivées Vitales*, 1946, Paris, qu. from Japanese tr. pp. 76-77.

Note 14: op. cit., p. 27. cf. Table 144.

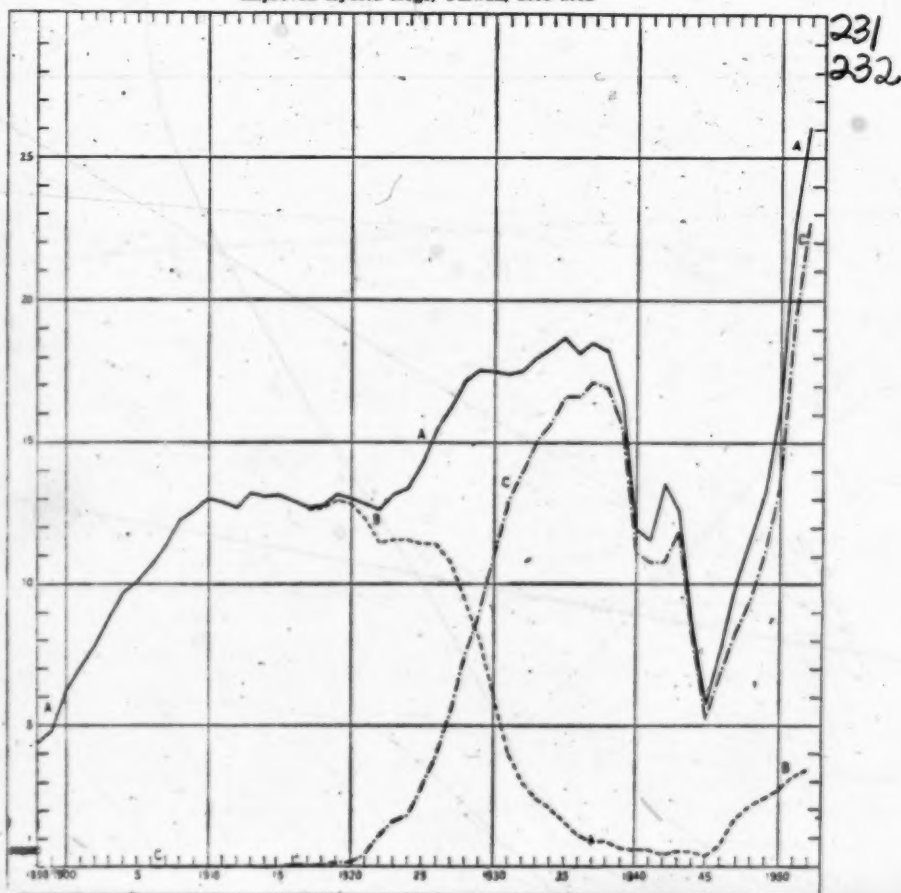
181 matters of sanitation, and at times on matters of agriculture. With the passage of
 178 time, experience lead them to compare their traditional way of life with that imposed
 by the colonial government. Some of these ways were found to be not too bad, some
 even adoptable. This kind of change in attitude through hard experience was fairly
 significant. By this, people realized for the first time that there were another ways of
 life besides their traditional one, and that some elements were worthy of adoption.
 Once the people began to adopt the new way of life, change began to speed up. From
 the following instances we can see that change in the attitude of people became
 conspicuous after the 1920's. We have discussed the influence of war and peace, the
 prevalence of epidemics, and the development of transportation on the attitude of the
 people (§ 7, 8, 12). Here the change of attitude concerning medical treatment and
 agriculture will be discussed.

178 Since treatment of illness touches the innermost part of life, it is only natural that
 744 conservative people do not dare to allow an unfamiliar doctor with strange ways of
 156 treatment to approach them. For Taiwanese, who had been accustomed to the tradi-
 tional Chinese medicine and folk medicine, doctors of western medicine, particularly
 with their injections and operations, were dreaded. During the early years of the
 Japanese rule there was a prevalence of cholera. Colonial officers compelled the people
 to take the preventive injection. Great consternation arose among the people, and
 many of them, particularly young girls, escaped and hid, in order not to have the
 dreaded injection. In the old city of Tainan a young girl of a wealthy family was
 escaping in a palanquin, but unfortunately she was caught by a Japanese police on the
 way, and forced to take the injection. Perhaps because the shock was too great, she
 died in a short time. Another young girl who took the injection killed herself after
 she went home, because it was a dreadful shame for a young girl of high standing to
 expose a part of her body to the public gaze. When a person died, his family had to
 have a medical certificate in order to get permission for burial. In 1906 90% of the
 medical certificates were issued by doctors of Chinese medicine, and certificates issued
 by doctors of western medicine constituted only 10% of the total. The proportion of
 175 the latter increased gradually, attained to 45% by 1917 (11:1917, p. 29). By 1920, the
 number of doctors of western medicine already exceeded those of Chinese medicine,
 and by 1935, 90% of medical certificates for the dead were issued by doctors of western
 medicine. Thirty years after 1906, doctors of Chinese medicine and doctors of western
 medicine had changed positions completely. By 1935, people did not object to injections
 and operations any more. On the contrary, they even believed blindly in injections, and
 asked for an injection when they saw a doctor. This was a remarkable change in
 attitude.

178 Farmers are tenaciously conservative in their work. In Taiwan, farmers originally
 241 used only compost and night-soil, and did not use any commercial fertilizer. When
 a sugar corporation started to promote the cultivation of sugar cane, they bought com-
 mercial fertilizer from Japan, and distributed it free of charge to farmers. Once a

farmer received some bean cake for fertilizer. However he was afraid that this new and strange material would hurt his crop, so he threw it away in a grove of bamboo. Later he found that the bamboo around the bean cake had shot up tremendously, and he realized for the first time that commercial fertilizer was useful, and began to use it on his crops. It is not an easy task for the conservative farmer to depart even a little from his traditional way of life, and experiment with new methods. But when once the experiment is begun, new experiences will lead him farther. The use of commercial

Fig. 10: Total Number of Hogs and the Number of Native Hogs and Improved Hybrid Hogs, Taiwan, 1896-1952



Unit: 100,000 head A: Total Number B: Native Hogs C: Improved Hybrid Hogs
 Source, 1896-1950, from Animal Resources of Taiwan, pp. 58-59
 1951-1952, from Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook, 1952

241 the use of commercial
 178 fertilizer spread quickly, and with textiles, became one of the main items of import
 [132] from Japan.

231
 178 For the improvement of hog raising, the colonial government had imported Berkshire hogs from Japan in 1896, and Yorkshire hogs from England in 1900. After a series of experiments, it was found that the first generation of hybrids between the native hog and Berkshire hog was most suitable to Taiwan, and the promotion of the hybrid was started in 1907. As in other agricultural practice, the traditional way of hog raising was a complicated procedure. Many religious and magical elements were involved in it, and it was not easy for the conservative farmer to adopt the profitable new hybrid. It took more than ten years of government promotion before people became willing to adopt the new hybrid. After 1920 more and more people adopted it, and the number of native hogs declined sharply (Fig. 10). This is the best instance of change in the attitude of the people. A new strain of rice (Ponlai rice) has been extensively cultivated since 1924, and the output of rice has sharply increased.

178 The 1920's is the turning point in the social history of Taiwan. Epidemics were wiped out, prevention of malaria had improved, the doctors of western medicine exceeded the doctors of the Chinese medicine, and even the cattle pest was wiped out. Political and social movements began for the first time. Primary education spread wider, the conservative farmer began to adopt new strains and new technics, and increase production. Mobility of the people had increased, more bicycles, automobiles, and trucks were used, and the level of living was raised somewhat. It was amid this social milieu that Taiwan's death rate steadily declined while its already teeming population with equal steadiness rose to new heights.

116, 161, 178, 241

"The average increase of area under cultivation by 7,000 ko each year must be compared with the annual increase of the population of 130,000 to 140,000 persons; for each ko increase in cultivated land there is an increase of twenty persons. It is thus quite evident that the increase of cultivated area is lagging behind the increase of population. The same idea may be expressed in another way: since 1904 the population of Taiwan increased 1.92 times. whereas the cultivated area increased only 1.37 times.

Improvement in the situation may be brought about (1) by cultivating areas now uncultivated; (2) by turning areas now producing one crop into double-crop areas chiefly through irrigation; (3) by increasing yields and substituting crops bringing high income per unit of area for crops bringing low income; (4) by shifting the population from agriculture to industry and importing foodstuffs to feed the growing population. Let us now consider these possibilities in turn, with the exception of the fourth, which will be examined later. "

4:Grajdanzev--75
116, 162, 178, 421, 651

S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans

"According to official statistics the number of payers of the agricultural land tax increased from 2,099,000 on January 1, 1938, to 2,112,000 on January 1, 1939—an increase of 13,000. How can this increase be explained when the number of families engaged in agriculture fell by 2,900? We must therefore conclude, either that official statistics are inaccurate, or that a rapid proletarianization of the agricultural population is going on. It may be—although this is only a hypothesis—that the official statistics do not include sub-tenants, a very numerous class in Taiwan. But whatever the cause, the statistics give a distorted picture of land relations on the island."

4:Grajdanzev--76-78 S-4
116, 114, 178, 423, 427, 177.42
636.42

(no date) 1942

Formosans-1-4
Japan

"The division of families occupied in agriculture into owners, part-owners and tenants may be seen from the following table: (1)

1. Here and in the following tables the official figures of families occupied in agriculture are used, though, as was pointed out, they are probably under-estimates. The statistics of landowners in Taiwan should be more or less correct because the land is surveyed and change of title involves a complicated procedure. The statistics may be incomplete only as regards tenants and agricultural workers (which they omit completely), and if one takes these into consideration one comes to the conclusion that official statistics probably give a brighter picture than is justified.

Division of Agricultural Families in Taiwan
(thousands)

	1932	1933	1935	1937	1938
Owners	132.2	129.4	132.1	131.1	130.2
Part-owners	119.3	121.7	128.4	134.8	135.6
Tenants (2)	152.4	155.0	159.4	161.5	158.7
Total	<u>403.9</u>	<u>406.1</u>	<u>419.9</u>	<u>427.4</u>	<u>424.5</u>

Footnote (2) on next page.

4:Grajdanzev--76-78 S-4
116, 114, 178, 423, 427, 177.42
636.42

(no date) 1942

Formosans-2
Japan

Division of Agricultural Families in Taiwan [Cont.]
(thousands)

2. Those who have read Japanese Rule in Formosa by Yosaburo Takekoshi may be astonished to discover that there are tenants in Taiwan. Takekoshi wrote in 1905 ' . . . The tenants [in Taiwan, after the reform by the Japanese administration] came to enjoy the absolute ownership of the land they or their ancestors have been farming for three centuries. Such a change certainly amounted to a social revolution. Most of the revolutions recorded in history required sacrifices, but the present one was entirely bloodless. This change has given the tenant absolute ownership, thus insuring securing of property. . . . ' (p 132). But what Takekoshi described as a social revolution, was actually only a very modest reform: the government abolished the rights of the taiso--owners who had only doubtful title to land. This reform made transfer of real estate more secure and paved the way for Japanese penetration.

As percentages of total

Owners	32.7	31.9	31.4	30.7	30.7
Part-owners	29.6	29.9	30.6	31.5	31.9
Tenants	37.7	38.2	38.0	37.8	37.4
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

4:Grajdanzev--76-78 S-4
116, 114, 178, 423, 427, 177.42
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(no date) 1942

Formosans-3
Japan

Source: Takumu Tokei, 1938.

[77] As this table shows, about forty per cent of all farmers in Taiwan own no land at all and must rent it from landlords and farmer-owners; about thirty per cent have plots so small that they are compelled to rent land, and barely thirty per cent of the farmers till only their own land. These figures are striking. Taiwan does not know rich tenants of the British type. Those who rent land are mostly poor farmers, but even those who cultivate their own land, are not all rich. As to the relative changes, there is a noticeable fall in the percentage of owners in six years--from 32.7 per cent in 1932 to 30.7 per cent in 1938. For the same period the percentage of tenants is the almost the same (37.7 and 37.4 per cent respectively), while the percentage of part-owners rose from 29.6 per cent to 31.9 per cent. It would seem that the farmer-owners are gradually losing their position and sinking to the level of tenants, but a six-year period is not a sufficiently long time to ascertain definitely whether such a trend exists.

However, it is not only the number of owners and tenants which is important, but also the area which they respectively till. Statistics of area are divided into only two categories—owned and rented.

4:Grajdanzev--76-78 S-4
116, 114, 178, 423, 427, 177.42
636.42

(no date) 1942

Formosans-4
Japan

Area Owned and Rented in Taiwan in 1932
(1, 000 ko)

	Dry fields		Paddy		Total	
	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
Owned	230.2	60.0	132.2	33.3	362.4	46.5
Rented	153.8	40.0	264.0	66.7	417.8	53.5
Total	<u>384.0</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>396.2</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>780.2</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Nogyo Nenkan, 1939-40, p. 641.

In 1932 the area cultivated by owners constituted 46.5 per cent, the area rented by tenants 53.5 per cent. But it is important to emphasize that owners cultivated chiefly dry land while the tenants cultivated paddy. Paddy brings much higher yields than dry fields; in 1937 the average yield of rice per ko of paddy was about 14 koku while that per ko of dry land was only 7.8 koku, and, further, many paddy fields [78] produce two crops a year. In other words, one ko of paddy yields, on the average, more than twice as much as one of dry land, so that the tenants produce about sixty-five to seventy per cent of the total crop of Taiwan on rented land, and the owners not more than thirty-five to thirty per cent."

As to the distribution of land between landowners by size of holdings, we have figures for 1930 and partial figures for 1932. We shall divide the farmers into four groups: (1) landowners with holdings of less than half a ko (less than 1.2 acre); (2) landowners with holdings of half a ko to one ko; (3) landowners with holdings of one ko to five ko; (4) those with holdings above five ko (above 11.9 acres).

Distribution of Landowners by Size of Holdings, 1930

Size of landholdings (ko)	0-0.49	0.5-0.99	1.0-4.99	5.0 and over	Total
Number (1,000)	172.9	86.7	122.4	23.1	405.1*
Percentage	42.7	21.4	30.2	5.7	100.0
Area (1,000 ko)	41.0	62.5	258.6	359.2	721.3
Percentage	5.7	8.7	35.8	49.8	100.0
Average area per holding (ko)	0.42	0.72	2.1	15.5	1.78

* It is important to note that the number of owners as given here is considerably greater than the number shown in more recent statistics. For 1932 the earlier figure was 340,674, whereas the current statistics (Takumu Tokei, 1938, published in 1940) give the number of owners and part-owners for 1932 as only 251,300; this is another indication of our point that the current official statistics probably understate the number of those occupied in agriculture.

Source: Ibid.

We see from this table that 42.7 per cent of the owners are decidedly small owners: their average holding is only 0.24 ko or less than 0.6 acre. They cannot exist on such a strip of land but must rent some land from rich landowners. In other words, almost half of the landowners are such in name only; they have enough land only for a house, a yard, and a kitchen-garden. Another 21.4 per cent of the owners are in a better position but not much better. Thus 64.1 per cent of the total number of landowners in Taiwan in 1930 had on the average less than 2.4 acres each. At the other end of the social scale, 5.7 per cent of the landowners owned 49.8 per cent of land, [79] or one-half of the total cultivated area. We may go farther and say that 126 persons (or corporations), 0.05 per cent of the total number of landowners possessed 94,072 ko—or 13.1 per cent of the total cultivated area. (1) Only thirty per cent of the owners are in the middle category. As regards

1. These figures are probably now out of date. In Kabushiki Kaisha Nenkan, 1940, five sugar companies and one canning company are listed as owning 81,634 ko of land in Taiwan.

the distribution of land among owners, Taiwan is a country of contrasts. Rich owners, although outnumbered eleven times to one by small owners, had nine times as much land. Thus on the average a rich owner had one hundred times more land than one in the first

two groups. This is extremely important for it shows that the farmers in Taiwan are divided into groups of unequal economic strength with extremes prevailing, so that the situation of the masses of the agricultural population is less satisfactory than the average figures calculated above would suggest. The Japanese government has not solved this question in Japan proper and it has not solved it during forty-five years of its administration in Taiwan."

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

the island and set out to discover the responsibilities and rewards of colonial administration. 648

Japan embarked on this first colonial venture without having at the outset any very clear idea of what use to make of it. The first few years were taken up in consolidating their control over the population and in deciding what to do with the island. As their experiment progressed, the Japanese began to introduce some profound and subtle changes. Their objectives became clarified, and their policies toward Taiwanese more firm. Gradually they evolved a system of managing affairs in Taiwan that developed into one of the most successful colonial programs in the world. As long as they remained, Taiwan repaid them handsomely for their initial investment of care and expense.

Some of the more important aspects of this program will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Here it is appropriate to establish what were broadly the consequences in terms of population trends, and to discover what sorts of information about Taiwan's people can be gained from the records of this administration. The Japanese rationalized certain parts of Taiwan's agriculture, so that the island produced a substantial surplus of farm commodities each year. They established a strong and efficient government, the first that the island ever had. With a shrewd combination of police force and political guile, they imposed strict public order and penetrated every town and village with a structure of organized control. 648
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They constructed excellent facilities for transportation and communication where there had been none before, founded modern business institutions and commercial centers, promoted some industrial processing of the island's products, rebuilt the major cities, and stamped out the principal epidemic diseases. In short, they transformed Taiwan from a "backward" and neglected land into a thriving region that could regularly export a large share of its agricultural produce. This was a success that would satisfy most of the countries striving for modernization today.

All these material accomplishments of the Japanese in Taiwan are well known. With some justifiable pride, they publicized this side of their rule and compiled an imposing set of statistics to document it. What we propose here is to examine the human side of these developments and to appraise some of its consequences in the 121

CHAPTER III

Economic Activities and Social Change

THE activities, interests, and aspirations of the Japanese community in Taiwan were things that existed apart from the indigenous population. These elements were never effectively communicated to the Taiwanese—partly through a design to withhold them, and partly through reluctance among the people of Taiwan to accept them. Consequently the conduct of Japanese residents is not of much help in understanding the accustomed modes of life among the island's people. It is the latter problem that has the more interest for demography, and makes it essential to consider the background of social order in Taiwan and the changes under colonial rule. 178 •

The Early Agrarian Order in Taiwan

The importance of agricultural pursuits in imposing a predominantly agrarian character on a society is not a thing that can be precisely measured. Short of perfect exactitude, a great deal can be learned with lesser devices, by describing the cultural setting of agriculture in Taiwan, and pointing out how it influenced the participation by Taiwanese in the island's economy. The basis of this setting lay in the conditions that prevailed before Taiwan became a colony of Japan. 167 241 511

By the mid-19th century, the lowland region of Taiwan was rapidly becoming fully settled. Piracy, which had made Taiwan a scourge to sea traffic along the China coast, gradually subsided into sedentary agriculture. Most of the Chinese population was already supporting itself by farming and the marketing of farm products. Since 1700 immigration had brought in a steady stream of Chinese from the mainland. In spite of sporadic prohibitions, hundreds of thousands of peasant farmers came to seek refuge from rural poverty in South China. Once arrived, they often reverted to this same condition, by reaching unfavorable terms with some of their countrymen already entrenched there as land speculators.

Poverty tended to reproduce itself among those who reached Taiwan, though there was also great wealth open to the few who rose from cultivation to commerce. Each settled family held an advantage over newcomers. This superior position placed new migrants in 167 563 423

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166 these new opportunities for employment. It steadily brought more
162 Taiwanese into contact with the modern side of the Japanese economic program.

166 Yet even though movement to the cities did widen the horizons of
178 a few Taiwanese, it was surrounded by circumstances that tended to minimize this effect. The familial character of the migration made the break between country and city less sharp than it might have been. Removal to a city did not expose migrants very readily to whatever new influences were there. These were all dominated by Japanese, who kept most of their innovations to themselves and erected barriers against free intercourse with the rest of the population.

Urban growth therefore did not promote general social change among the Taiwanese. It removed into cities those who were to feel the strongest effects of contact with these alien elements. Migration thus helped to absorb the modern aspects of economic development so that they did not intrude into the affairs of rural communities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

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eastern part of the mainland to Taiwan had been going on for several hundred years, beginning in the 1600's and virtually ending about 1900 when it was almost completely stopped by the Japanese regime. Throughout the early period and even after the Japanese occupation and administration of the island, the traditional Chinese culture brought over from southeastern China was maintained with little major change.

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During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, except for the period just before and during World War II when they attempted to Japanize the island, the government tried deliberately to inhibit fundamental changes in the Chinese culture.¹ As George Barclay (1954b:52) has pointed out, during most of their occupation it was advantageous to Japanese colonialism to maintain the Chinese social and economic order which already existed in Taiwan. It was by means of the traditional Chinese system, which facilitated the maintenance of social control, that Japan was best able to function as a colonial power and to derive the greatest advantage from this area, which soon became an integral economic part of the Japanese empire. Because of this policy of maintaining and utilizing the existing Chinese social and economic system, the fifty years of Japanese rule had limited direct effect on much of the traditional social life of the Taiwanese. This was especially true of the rural agricultural areas of Taiwan, where direct contact with the Japanese was infrequent and where the Japanese had, therefore, limited influence on the cultural level of life. Some superficial changes—religious forms, for example—were in later years forced on the Taiwanese rural people by the Japanese, but they were quickly dropped when Chinese rule was restored at the end of World War II. Today, unlike the situation in the urban centers of Taiwan where Japanese cultural influence was much stronger and is still evident, only few Japanese-introduced traits can be observed in rural Taiwan, and the people attach little importance to them.

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However, during the later years of the Japanese period and especially during most of these past two decades under the Nationalist Chinese, the socioeconomic impact on the whole Taiwanese population has been significant. The combination of relatively efficient government, orderliness of life, and public health measures, together with an extensive system of communications on a relatively small island has greatly facilitated rapid population increase on a stable land base and a rapidly increasing growth of urban centers.

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Out of these developments, the most significant changes for the rural population have been the extension of village contacts and involvement with urban centers far beyond the immediate village area, and with this an increased spread of urban influences or at least their effects into the rural villages. These increasingly significant extensions

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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Formosa AD1 •

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THE SETTING

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ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1918 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired-out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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After 1919, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1919 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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*Changing Land Tenure and
Its Effect on
Community Organization*

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The traditional (Ch'ing) land tenure system in Taiwan has undergone a number of modifications over the years. Each was instituted with the advent of a new regime, and marked the inception of major changes in other aspects of rural life. As we have seen, the colonial administration policies of the Japanese were instrumental in producing the first significant involvement of the Taiwanese peasant in the market economy. Nevertheless, it was not until the restoration of Chinese rule, when the population growth began to exert noticeable pressures and the Nationalist Chinese sponsored the Land Reform Program, that major changes took place in the economy which reached directly into most of the areas of Taiwanese rural life.

The system of land tenure in Taiwan has always been a controlling factor in the lives of the agricultural population, and to understand Taiwanese life fully it is necessary to understand the land tenure system and its history. From the late nineteenth century onwards the rural villagers suffered the results of the concentration of landownership into too few hands. This situation culminated finally in the Land Reform Program of 1949-1953, which, for the first time, secured the Taiwanese tenants' rights to the land they tilled through firm rental contracts, reductions in rent, and the Land-to-the-Tiller Program.

Putting untitled land under cultivation became a great concern of the government at the time of the Manchu conquest of Taiwan in 1683, according to T'ang (1954:23-27). Under the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty, any person applying for rights to occupy uncultivated land was considered the owner as long as he kept his acres under proper cultivation. Not surprisingly, this program led to a situation in which people with enough capital, "a relatively small number of great families" (Ginsburg, 1953:32), obtained rights to large amounts of land

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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LIFE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGER

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eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

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Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

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ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

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It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1918 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

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NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

- ¹ During the last six or seven years of their regime, the Japanese government attempted to strengthen support of the war effort amongst the Taiwanese population. To do this, they expanded the compulsory school system and put in force many new regulations, i.e., only the Japanese language was used in the schools, Shinto religious symbols such as the Shinto God's shelf (*hamidana*) and Japanese patriotic scrolls replaced the traditional Taoist gods' statues and scrolls, Japanese festivals were observed, and many Taiwanese had to take Japanese names. However, immediately after war's end, the Taiwanese reverted to their traditional Taiwanese (Chinese) customs.

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Chapter 2: The Setting

- ¹ The amount and distribution of rainfall in the Hsin Hsing area is: January .79-1.97 inches, April 3.93-5.90 inches, July 7.86-11.80 inches, October .79 inches. The average annual rainfall in the Chang-hua Hsien area is 59.37-59.05 inches.

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- ² A great many of the overseas Chinese living in the Southeast Asian countries also came from the Ch'uan Chou and Chang Chou areas near Amoy.

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- ³ The historical information gathered from older residents of the area was based mainly on their own experiences as children and on stories told to them by their elders.

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Some of the numerous gazetteers available are listed in the section of the bibliography on Chinese and Japanese Language Sources. Chen Shao-hsing, Professor of Sociology and Demography at National Taiwan University, first warned me in 1957 that some problems exist in using these and other such materials in attempting to gain detailed information about Taiwan generally, or about local areas particularly. Although Chen notes in his recent book (1964:196-197) that some earlier Ch'ing dynasty chroniclers, e.g., Chen Meng-lin, author of *Chu Lo Hsien Chia* (1716), and Chen Wen-ta, compiler of the *Taiwan Hsien Chia* (1720), were reliable, he also points out that some later ones such as Yu Wen-i (1758), Wang Ying-t'eng (1764), Hsieh Chin-huan (1807), and Chen Shu-chün (1852) were unreliable. Chen (1964:196-197) points out that these latter authors cited what was mentioned in the Chen Wen-ta (1720) book regardless of the actual change in customs through time. Apparently, then, they employed the practice of compiling at least some of their data from previously written gazetteers rather than going out into the countryside to obtain the necessary information. But even the reliable gazetteers usually still presented a composite

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